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Rewritten version of San Francisco speech.

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[REDACTED] edited for sending to Mr. Bruce
McCARTHY.

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RNM/RAL
Commonwealth Club speech

Friday, 5 August 1975

YESTERDAY THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED A MAJOR REORGANIZATION OF THE INTELLIGENCE APPARATUS OF OUR COUNTRY. THIS WAS THE CULMINATION OF 6 MONTHS OF INTENSIVE STUDY. THIS AND SEVERAL OTHER RECENT ACTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE

HAS ACHIEVED TWO THINGS:

1. HAS STRENGTHENED CONTROL OVER OUR INTELLIGENCE APPARATUS.
2. HAS ENSURED STRINGENT OVERSIGHT OF HOW WE GO ABOUT OUR INTELLIGENCE.

THE STRENGTHENING OF CONTROL HAS COME ABOUT BY GIVING TO MY OFFICE, THAT IS THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE, FULL AUTHORITY FOR THE BUDGETS OF THE VARIOUS INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS AND AUTHORITY FOR SETTING THE TASKS FOR THESE ORGANIZATIONS IN THEIR ATTEMPTS TO COLLECT INTELLIGENCE. INTELLIGENCE, YOU SEE, IS LOCATED IN A NUMBER OF AGENCIES OF OUR GOVERNMENT, NOT JUST IN THE CIA: THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT, THE STATE DEPT, THE FBI,

Most significant - most promising 1/2

Run ins of collecting - want to be efficient + in full control
of interpreting data - Research analysis
Let me say President new program is Team of intel managers

TREASURY AND THE NEW ENERGY DEPT. / I HAPPEN TO BE DIRECTOR OF

ONE--CIA. / I ALSO HAVE ANOTHER JOB, / THAT OF THE DIRECTOR OF

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE / WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY IT IS TO HAVE ALL ~~OF~~

THE INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES PULLING TOGETHER. / THE NEW ORGANIZATIONAL

ARRANGEMENT / EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS SECOND TASK / OF

PULLING ALL OF THESE ACTIVITIES TOGETHER / ~~ESPECIALLY WHEN COLLECTIN~~

INTELLIGENCE DATA. / FOR INSTANCE, THE DEFENSE AND STATE DEPTS

WILL EACH HAVE THEIR OWN ANALYTICAL AGENCIES IN ADDITION / TO THAT

OF THE CIA. / WE SEEK AND WELCOME DIVERGENT AND COMPETING IDEAS

AND OPINIONS, / FOR GOOD INTELLIGENCE DOES NOT COME BY REVELATION, /

IT ALWAYS IS SHROUDED IN UNCERTAINTY AND ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATION /

SKEPTICAL - ASSURED

* JOKE

I BELIEVE THAT THIS NEW ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENT / WILL

ENSURE BETTER PERFORMANCE IN BOTH COLLECTING AND INTERPRETING

INTELLIGENCE. / I AM CONFIDENT ALSO THAT THE PRESIDENT / AND MANY

OTHER OF OUR TOP EXECUTIVES / GAVE A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION TO

developing

THIS NEW PLAN BECAUSE OF A RECOGNITION THAT GOOD INTELLIGENCE
IS PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT TO OUR COUNTRY TODAY THAN EVER SINCE
THE CREATION OF A CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION 30 YEARS AGO.

THIRTY YEARS AGO WE HAD VAST MILITARY SUPERIORITY. THE
SOVIETS HAVING RECOGNIZED ^{the} FAILURE OF THEIR SYSTEM TO GROW IN
OTHER WAYS, HAVE BECOME A WORLD POWER BASED ON THEIR MILITARY
MIGHT. LARGE AMOUNTS OF THIS POWER ARE POISED ON NATO'S
FRONTIERS IN EUROPE AND RANGE THE HIGH SEAS. IN THIS CONDITION
OF ROUGH MILITARY PARITY, THE VALUE OF INTELLIGENCE TODAY IS
GREAT. REAL ADVANTAGES CAN ACCURE FROM ACCURATELY KNOWING
WHAT YOUR POTENTIAL ADVERSARY'S STRENGTH IS AND WHAT HE INTENDS
TO DO WITH IT. HE SELDOM TELLS YOU THIS, BUT HE DOES GIVE IT
AWAY IN MANY SMALL ~~ways~~, WHICH WHEN WATCHED OVER A LONG PERIOD
OF TIME, AND PIECED TOGETHER, CAN GIVE YOU REAL ADVANTAGES.
IT IS THE KIND OF LEVERAGE THAT CAN TURN THE TIDE OF BATTLE.
THAT'S THE IMPORTANT END PRODUCT OF INTELLIGENCE.

IF YOU LOOK PAST THE MILITARY SCENE, THERE ARE OTHER
SIMILAR SITUATIONS: / ECONOMICS - 30 YEARS AGO - ECONOMICALLY
INDEPENDENT - TODAY INTERDEPENDENCE - ENERGY SITUATION - LOSE
SHIRT IF NOT SMART - POWER BLOCKS - RAW MATERIALS/TRADE LEVERAGE.
POLITICS - WORLD DIFFERENT / FROM U.S. DOMINATION TO SITUATION
own smaller TODAY, EVOLVING NATIONS / ARE GOING OWN WAY AND DO NOT WANT TO
BE DICTATED TO / EITHER BY THE U.S. OR SOVIET RUSSIA. / WE MUST
BE SMART, UNDERSTAND POL/ECON/CULTURAL ATTITUDES OR WE WILL
BE OUT-MANEUVERED.

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AT THE SAME TIME THAT WE NEED GOOD INTELLIGENCE TODAY /
MORE PERHAPS THAN IN THE PAST, / WE ARE JUSTIFIABLY MORE CONCERNED /
THAT INTELLIGENCE BE COLLECTED, ANALYZED, AND EMPLOYED / IN WAYS
CONSONANT WITH OUR CONCEPTS OF SOCIETY. / WE CANNOT AFFORD TO
UTILIZE METHODS OF COLLECTING SECRET INTELLIGENCE / THAT OUR
SOCIETY FEELS WOULD JEOPARDIZE THE VERY VALUES WHICH WE ARE SEEKING
TO DEFEND.

HERE IS WHERE THE OTHER HALF OF THE PRESIDENT'S NEW
PROGRAM COMES INTO PLAY: / STRINGENT OVERSIGHT. / WE HAVE TAKEN

A NUMBER OF APPROACHES TO THIS: /

1. REAFFIRMATION OF IMPORTANCE OF IOB / THIS IS
A BODY CREATED 1½ YEARS AGO TO SERVE AS A WATCHDOG / ON
ETHICS AND PROPRIETY OF THE ENTIRE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY /

3 DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS

ANY INDIVIDUAL CAN WRITE

BOARD, WHEN INVESTIGATES, REPORTS ONLY TO PRESIDENT.

2. SUPPORTING LEGISLATION NOW BEING CONSIDERED BY
CONGRESS / TO ENSURE THAT ANY WIRETAPPING DONE IN U.S. / IN
THE NAME OF COLLECTING FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE / DOES NOT
CONTRAVENE RIGHTS OF OUR CITIZENS. /

NEXT, WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING INTO THE PAST / AND TRYING TO
ENSURE THE PUBLIC THAT ANY ABUSES THAT DID EXIST / ARE TRULY
BEHIND US. /

for further
complaints, have been
taken seriously.

FOR INSTANCE, I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE TODAY THAT ALL OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ROCKEFELLER COMMISSION WHICH WERE DIRECTED AT THE CIA HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED.

WE ARE ALSO LOOKING THE PAST SQUARELY IN THE EYE, EVEN WHEN IT IS UNPLEASANT. ON WEDNESDAY OF THIS WEEK I PRESENTED TO THE CONGRESS EVERY DETAIL OF INFORMATION WHICH I HAVE ON THE DRUG RELATED ACTIVITIES OF THE CIA DURING THE PERIOD 1953-1965. NOW THIS WAS 12 TO 24 YEARS AGO AND WE ALL HATE TO REHASH ERRORS OF THE PAST, ESPECIALLY RECOGNIZING THAT NATIONAL ATTITUDES AND MORES CHANGE WITH TIME. AND WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN CONDONED YESTERDAY, MAY BE CONDEMNED TODAY. WHAT HAPPENED, HOWEVER, IN THIS CASE, IS THAT WE FOUND DOCUMENTATION ON THIS SUBJECT IN OUR RETIRED RECORDS ARCHIVES WHICH HAD NOT BEEN FOUND DURING CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THIS SUBJECT SEVERAL YEARS AGO. UPON BEING INFORMED OF THIS, I FELT OBLIGED

IMMEDIATELY TO NOTIFY THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS. / SOME
OF THESE REVELATIONS CONCERN ACTIVITIES IN YOUR FINE CITY.
I REGRET THIS, / BUT ASSURE YOU THAT NOTHING OF THIS SORT IS
BEING, OR WILL BE TOLERATED TODAY / THE MOST INEXPLICABLE
PART OF THE ACTIVITIES HERE IN SAN FRANCISCO, / AND IN OTHER
CITIES, / WAS THE TESTING OF VARIOUS DRUGS ON INDIVIDUALS WITHOUT
THEIR KNOWLEDGE. / WE DO NOT HAVE THE NAMES OF THE INDIVIDUALS
TESTED. / HOWEVER, NOW THAT WE HAVE UNCOVERED THIS INFORMATION
do use everyone we possess to help us
I INTEND TO ~~MAKE EVERY EFFORT~~ TO IDENTIFY AND NOTIFY THESE
PERSONS *at all possible.*

AGAIN, I WOULD URGE THAT WE RECOGNIZE / THAT THIS IS PAST
HISTORY: / TWO DECADES OLD. / THE CIA'S OPEN AND FRANK HANDLING
OF THIS DISCLOSURE / IS ALSO PART OF AN EFFORT TO OPEN AMERICAN
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY / TO GREATER PUBLIC SCRUTINY THAN IN THE
PAST. / THIS IS PART OF A VOLUNTARY EFFORT TO LEVEL WITH AND INFORM

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE / WITHOUT DAMAGING THAT ONGOING INTELLIGENCE
WORK / WHICH MUST BE KEPT SECRET TO SUCCEED. / FOR EXAMPLE;
WE HAVE TRIED TO BE MORE ACCESSIBLE TO THE MEDIA-
INVITED THE CAMERAS OF TIME AND 60 MINUTES / INSIDE THE CIA FOR
THE FIRST TIME. / I AM NOT SURE IF IT WAS GOOD OR BAD TO DO THAT--
WE LOST A LARGE SHARE OF OUR FORMER MYSTIQUE WHEN EVERYONE
DISCOVERED THAT THE JAMES BONDS OF OUR COUNTRY GO TO WORK IN
A RATHER USUAL OFFICE BUILDING WITH RATHER ORDINARY LOOKING
CLUEK & DAGGER
FELLOW-WORKERS. I HOPE THAT THIS LOSS OF GLAMOUR DOESN'T HAVE
AN ADVERSE IMPACT ON OUR RECRUITING!

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WE ARE ALSO ATTEMPTING ~~TO~~ / TO MAKE MORE OF OUR
PRODUCT ACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC. / THE PUBLICATION OF UNCLASSIFIED
STUDIES IS ONE OF OUR MOST IMPORTANT, / SUBSTANTATIVE INITIATIVES.
IT STEMS FROM A CONVICTION THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IS
WORKING FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE / AND THAT THEY DESERVE TO SHARE
OUR RESULTS WHENEVER THAT IS POSSIBLE. / WE INTEND TO PUBLISH
IN UNCLASSIFIED FORM / THE MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS
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THAT WE CAN.

TO DATE WE HAVE PUBLISHED SEVERAL MAJOR STUDIES / WHICH I
BELIEVE MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO PUBLIC DEBATE: /
THIS PAST MARCH WE PUBLISHED A REPORT ON WORLD ENERGY SITUATION /
AND TWO SUBORDINATE STUDIES ON THE SOVIET AND CHINESE ENERGY
PROSPECTS /

~~ESSENTIALLY ECONOMIC STUDIES~~

-- STUDIES SAID:

WORLD ENERGY PRODUCTION CAPABILITY WILL FALL
BEHIND DEMAND / IN EARLY TO MID-1980'S; / THAT MEANS
THERE WILL BE PRESSURE ON PRICES. / WHY? ONE
REASON IS THAT WE EXPECT A SHARP DECLINE IN
OUTPUT OF OIL IN THE SOVIET UNION. / SOVIETS
DON'T TELL US ^{about this} THESE THINGS, / EVEN THOUGH IT WILL
HAVE MAJOR IMPACT ON THE WORLD ECONOMY. / AFTER ALL,
THE SOVIET UNION IS WORLD'S LARGEST PRODUCER OF OIL.

BUT WE HAVE USED INTELLIGENCE TO PIECE THIS
TOGETHER - largely open sources. /

MAKE CLEAR - NOT? OF WORLD OIL RESERVES AND
WHETHER WE ARE RUNNING OUT OF OIL? / THE ISSUE
IS ONE OF GETTING ENOUGH OIL OUT OF THE GROUND
OR BEING ABLE TO FIND ALTERNATIVES LIKE NUCLEAR
POWER OR CONSERVATION MEASURES ADEQUATE TO REDUCE
DEMAND TO THE LEVEL OF PRODUCTION IN THE NEXT 7 TO 8
YEARS. WE DON'T THINK WE CAN FIND ANY COMBINATION
THAT COULD FILL THE BILL BEFORE 1985. AFTER THAT
IT IS A DIFFERENT QUESTION.

//
ONE OF THE SIDE BENEFITS OF PUBLISHING THIS TYPE OF STUDY /
IS THE EXCHANGES IT LEADS TO WITH OUR CRITICS. / I REPLIED TO ALL
SERIOUS CRITICS / AND INVITED THEM TO DETAIL THEIR CRITICISMS. /
THOSE WHO DID, ^{were} INVITED TO SPEND A DAY WITH THE AUTHORS OF OUR
STUDY. / IT WAS AN EXCELLENT EXCHANGE AND OF A TYPE WHICH I HOPE

*Indicates Soviets - difficult
problems ahead
Oil Demography*

TO ENCOURAGE WITH THE ACADEMIC AND INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITIES.

recently
WE HAVE ALSO DELIVERED A STUDY TO THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS WHICH WILL BE RELEASED BY THEM THIS COMING TUESDAY.

IT THOROUGHLY EXAMINES THE OUTLOOK FOR THE ENTIRE SOVIET ECONOMY OVER THE NEXT DECADE.

OIL STUDIES OR THE SOVIET ECONOMY STUDY DO WE PRETEND THAT SOVIET ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE INSURMOUNTABLE. WE DO POINT OUT, HOWEVER, THAT SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY, WHEN VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF PERFORMANCE OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS, INDICATE THE SOVIETS WILL - IN THE NEAR FUTURE BE FORCED TO MAKE SOME DIFFICULT CHOICES. FOR EXAMPLE:

CAN THEY CONTINUE TO EXPORT OIL TO THEIR EASTERN EUROPEAN SATELLITES OR WILL THEY NEED TO SEND IT ELSEWHERE TO EARN HARD CURRENCY?

WILL THEY CONTINUE TO CONSUME OIL AT THE SAME RATE, OR WILL THEY HAVE TO TURN TO A VIGOROUS CONSERVATION PROGRAM?

Economy slow - credits in west

CAN THEY MEET THE INCREASING MANPOWER NEEDS OF
THEIR INDUSTRY / AND STILL MAINTAIN THEIR HUGE MILITARY
ESTABLISHMENT? /

THESE ARE ONLY SOME OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF OUR FINDINGS. /

IT IS MY HOPE THAT THESE STUDIES WILL CONTRIBUTE ANOTHER
PERSPECTIVE / TO INFORMED PUBLIC DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE / AND ENGAGE
THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WITH THEIR INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. /

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LET ME ASSURE YOU, HOWEVER, / THAT WE CAN NOT AND WILL NOT
OPEN EVERYTHING UP. / AN ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT OF INTELLIGENCE
OPERATIONS / IS THE ABILITY TO PRESERVE SECRETS. / SOME OF THE
INFORMATION BEHIND BOTH THE SOVIET OIL AND ECONOMIC FORECASTS /
WAS DERIVED FROM SECRET SOURCES / WHICH WOULD BE JEOPARDIZED IN
THE FUTURE WERE WE TO REVEAL THEM. /

THUS, WE CANNOT FORGET THAT WHILE WE MOVE TO DEMYSTIFY
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES AND TO BUILD PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING
AND SUPPORT FOR WHAT WE DO IN THE DEFENSE OF OUR COUNTRY, WE
MUST ASK AND OBTAIN THE PUBLIC'S COOPERATION IN PRESERVING THAT
LEVEL OF SECRECY WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO THESE ACTIVITIES.

IN SHORT WE ARE WORKING IN TWO DIRECTIONS AT ONCE. BY
DECLASSIFYING INFORMATION THAT NEED NOT BE CLASSIFIED WE ARE
ATTEMPTING TO PROMOTE GREATER RESPECT FOR GENUINELY SECRET
INFORMATION.

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN, WE ARE DRAWING A TIGHTER
PROTECTIVE CIRCLE AROUND THAT INFORMATION OR THOSE ACTIVITIES
WHICH ARE TRULY SECRET.

THUS TODAY, WE ARE DOWNGRADING MORE INFORMATION TO UNCLASSIFIED
AND PUBLISHING IT FOR PUBLIC USE ON THE ONE HAND; AND ENFORCING
GREATER CONTROLS ON SECRECY WHERE JUSTIFIED ON THE OTHER.

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IN CONCLUSION, LET ME MAKE THREE POINTS:

1. THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IS A UNIQUE NATIONAL RESOURCE / WITHOUT WHICH OUR COUNTRY COULD NOT OPERATE / AS WELL AS IT DOES IN THIS COMPLICATED WORLD. / THIS RESOURCE MUST BE PRESERVED. /

2. BECAUSE OF THE INTENSE INTEREST IN CONGRESS / IN OVERSEEING INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES / AND BECAUSE OF THE PERSONAL INTEREST OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT /

COUPLED WITH A SENSITIVITY WITHIN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY ITSELF / TO THE ISSUES OF LEGALITY, MORALITY AND ETHICS, / HEIGHTENED OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS OF INVESTIGATION AND CRITICISM, / YOU CAN BE ASSURED THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IS DOING THE JOB IT WAS CREATED TO DO, / DOING IT *Hart* COMPETENTLY, / AND DOING NOTHING ELSE. /

3. YOU WILL BE HEARING FROM THE INTELLIGENCE
COMMUNITY. / I INTEND TO MAKE THE PUBLIC ONE OF THE
DIRECT BENEFICIARIES OF OUR EFFORTS / TO A DEGREE WHICH
HAS NEVER BEEN ATTEMPTED BEFORE. /

I ASK YOUR INTEREST AND YOUR SUPPORT.

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INTELLIGENCE TODAY

In August, the President announced a major reorganization of the American intelligence apparatus. This reorganization has strengthened the controls over all elements of the Intelligence Community, and has ensured stringent oversight of how we go about the business of intelligence.

The strengthening of control has come about by giving to the Director of Central Intelligence, full authority for the budgets and for setting the tasks of the various intelligence organizations, in their attempts to collect intelligence. Intelligence collection is carried out by a number of agencies of the Government, not just in the CIA: the Defense Department, the State Dept., the FBI, Treasury, and the new Energy Dept. All have intelligence responsibilities. The Director of Central Intelligence is responsible for ensuring that all the intelligence agencies of our government are pulling together and moving toward the same goals. The new organizational arrangement emphasizes the importance of this task of pulling together, especially in the collection of intelligence data. This is especially important, because collecting intelligence is the most expensive and riskiest part of the intelligence process. The best collection resources of our government, wherever they may be located, must be capable of being aggregated and focused on collecting the information which the President and Congress need to make their decisions.

The other half of the problem is interpreting the information which is collected. By far, most of the people and energies of the CIA and the other intelligence organizations in the government are devoted to this scholarly pursuit. The Defense and State Departments have their own independent analytical staffs, in addition to that of CIA. Good intelligence does not come by revelation. It is always shrouded in uncertainty and alternative interpretation. These three analytical organizations provide divergent and competing ideas to the decisionmakers, assuring them of a wide spectrum of opinions.

The President and many other of our top executives have given a great deal of attention to developing this new plan because of their recognition that good intelligence is perhaps more important to our country today than ever since the creation of a Central Intelligence organization thirty years ago. This arrangement will ensure better performance in both collecting and interpreting intelligence.

Thirty years ago America had vast military superiority in the world. The Soviet Union, having recognized the failure of its system to grow in other ways, has become a world power based on its military might. Large amounts of this power are poised on NATO's frontiers in Europe and range the high seas. Today, in a time of rough military parity between the United States and the Soviet Union, the value of intelligence is heightened. Significant advantage accrues from accurately knowing what a potential adversary's strength is and what he intends to do with it. He seldom tells you this, but he does reveal it in

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many small ways. When watched over a long period of time and pieced together, these small clues betray trends and attitudes which can give the observer the kind of real advantages that can turn the tide of battle.

If you look past the military scene to the economic and political spheres, the situation is similar. Thirty years ago we were economically independent. Today the world is interdependent. The complex energy needs and dependencies of the United States and her allies demand a special awareness of the forces at work if shirts are not to be lost. Even small developing nations can combine into power blocks to wield the club of raw materials as trade leverage. The world is also different politically. In the lifetime of most of us we have seen the United States move from a capability to dominate the rest of the world ideologically, to the situation today where even the smallest evolving nations go their own way and refuse to be dictated to either by the United States or Soviet Russia. We must be smart, we must understand the political, economic, and cultural attitudes of our neighbors or we can be out-maneuvered, and perhaps find ourselves without the freedom to act in our own best interests.

At the same time that we need good intelligence, perhaps more today than in the past, we are justifiably more concerned that our intelligence methods reflect high standards of legality and morality. Naturally, this places us at a disadvantage when other nations operate with no-holds-barred. Nonetheless, the dual nature of our system demands that pragmatism be balanced

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by a sense of morality. If we believe that these are complimentary virtues then pragmatism must give way to morality when methods of collecting secret intelligence begin to jeopardize the very values which we are seeking to protect.

Here is where the other half of the President's new program comes into play. Stringent oversight ensures the American public that despite the necessary secrecy which must surround intelligence activities, those activities are revealed to and approved by duly elected representatives and respond to legitimate national needs. To this, a number of approaches have been taken.

One is the reaffirmation of the importance of the Intelligence Oversight Board. This Board, comprised of three distinguished citizens, was created one and one-half years ago to serve as a watchdog on the ethics and propriety of the entire Intelligence Community. Any employee can write directly to this Board citing problems or concerns. The Board then investigates the alleged problem and reports only to the President.

Another is supporting legislation which is now being considered by Congress to ensure that any wiretapping done in the U.S. in the name of collecting foreign intelligence does not contravene the rights of our citizens.

Next, we have been looking into the past to ensure that any abuses that did exist are truly behind us. In August, Congress was presented with every detail of information on drug-related activities from 1953 to 1965 of which the CIA is aware.

This documentation, which had not been found during Congressional investigations of this subject several years ago, was found by the CIA in its retired records and archives. The President and the Congress were immediately notified. The open and frank handling of this disclosure is part of a wide-ranging, voluntary effort by the CIA to open American intelligence activity to greater public scrutiny than in the past, without damaging ongoing intelligence work which must be kept secret to succeed.

The CIA has tried also to be more accessible to the media and the public directly. The cameras of Time and 60 Minutes were invited inside the CIA for the first time this past Summer and a program was established to look at all ongoing studies to determine if they could be declassified and made available directly to the public. While television and press coverage provide information to a vast audience, the publication of unclassified studies provides a more substantive contribution to public knowledge stemming from a conviction that the Intelligence Community is working for the American people who deserve to share the results of collection and analysis efforts whenever that is possible. It is intended that both these initiatives continue to maximize the amount of unclassified intelligence reaching the public domain.

To date several major studies have been published which make an important contribution to national debate: This past March a report on the world energy situation along with two subordinate studies on Soviet and Chinese energy prospects were published. These studies said that the world energy production

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capability will fall behind demand in the early mid-1980's, subsequently resulting in increased pressure on prices. One cause, pieced together largely from unclassified sources, will derive from a sharp decline in the output of Soviet oil. The Soviets do not announce these trends even though, as the largest oil producer in the world today, they will have a major impact on the world economy.

The conclusions in these studies are not predicated on the status of world oil reserves or whether producers are running out of oil. Instead, the issues revolve around the capability of producers to, over the next 7 to 8 years, extract enough oil from the ground to meet growing demands, or to find alternatives like nuclear power, or to adopt adequate conservation measures to reduce demand to the level of production. No combination of these measures is seen to be able to fill the bill before 1985.

One of the side benefits of publishing this type of study is the exchange it encourages with critics. All serious critics were invited to detail their criticisms. Those who did were invited to spend a day with the authors of the study discussing their differences. It was an excellent exchange and of a type which it is hoped can be encouraged with the academic and industrial communities.

A study recently done for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress has been released. It examined the outlook for the entire Soviet economy over the next decade. In neither the oil nor the economic studies are Soviet economic problems painted as insurmountable. However, it is pointed out that

some characteristics of the Soviet economy, when viewed in light of performance over the past few years, indicate that in the future the Soviets will be forced to make some difficult choices. For example, can the Soviets continue to export oil to their Eastern European satellites or will they need to send it elsewhere to earn hard currency? Will they continue to consume oil at the same rate, or will they have to turn to a vigorous conservation program? With such a slow growth rate, will they have to turn to the West for credits? Can they meet the increasing manpower needs of industry and still maintain a huge military establishment? It is hoped that these studies will contribute another perspective on the issues and engage the American public in a continuing discussion with the Intelligence Community.

On the other hand, an essential ingredient of intelligence operations is the ability to preserve secrets. The Intelligence Community cannot and will not open up totally. Some of the information behind both the Soviet oil and economic forecasts was derived from secret sources which would be jeopardized were they to be revealed. While steps can be taken to demystify intelligence and build public understanding and support, public cooperation must be enlisted to preserve the level of secrecy essential to these activities.

The problem of preserving secrecy is being approached from two directions simultaneously. By declassifying information that need not be classified, a greater respect for genuinely secret information should be encouraged. By drawing a tighter protective circle around a smaller corpus of truly secret

information, there should be less opportunity for it to be compromised.

Three points underscore this discussion of intelligence today. First, the Intelligence Community is a unique national resource without which our country could not operate as well as it does in a complicated world. This resource must be preserved. Second, the Intelligence Community intends to make the public one of the direct beneficiaries of its efforts to a degree which has never been attempted before. Third, because of the intense interest in Congress in overseeing intelligence activities; because of the personal interest of the President and Vice President; because of a heightened sensitivity within the Intelligence Community itself to the issues of legality, morality and ethics, the American public can be more confident today than ever before that the Intelligence Community is doing the job that it was created to do, doing it very competently, and doing nothing else.